

Message Text

SECRET

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51

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 /031 W

----- 116556

P R 301725Z OCT 73

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2159

INFO DOD WASHDC

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 5767

EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON OCTOBER 30 MEETING (SALT TWO-328)

1. SEMENOV OPENED TODAY'S MEETING WITH A LONG PREPARED STATEMENT, ON ONE HAND CITING THOSE ELEMENTS IN BREZHNEV'S OCTOBER 26 SPEECH ON HIS DEVOTION TO DETENTE AND HIS HOPE THAT SALT AGREEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED BY TIME OF PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO SOVIET UNION IN 1974; AND ON OTHER HAND (WITHOUT SAYING HE WAS QUOTING BREZHNEV) DRAWING IN EXTENSO FROM LANGUAGE OF BREZHNEV'S ATTACKS IN OCTOBER 26 SPEECH ON "THOSE WHO STUBBORNLY ADHERED TO THE COLD WAR," "NATO MILITARY BUDGETS AND MATERIAL PREPARATION FOR WORLD WAR," THE "BARGAINING CHIP" APPROACH, ETC.

2. I REACTED SHARPLY, SAYING THAT I FOUND HIS STATEMENT UNUSUAL AND THAT I COULD NOT ACCEPT IMPLICATION THAT US WAS LESS INTERESTED THAN THE SOVIET UNION IN CONTROL OF STRATEGIC ARMS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE. I COULD NOT ACCEPT THE THESIS THAT ANY ONE SIDE HAD A MONOLOPY ON VIRTUE. I WAS ALSO UNABLE TO ACCEPT IMPLICATION THAT US AND ITS ALLIES WERE WHOLLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARMS RACE. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY INAPPROPRIATE FROM THE USSR, WHICH IS NOW CONDUCTING THE MOST EXTENSIVE ICBM PROGRAM IN HISTORY. I DID NOT THINK SUCH POLEMICAL DEBATES BELONGED IN OUR DISCUSSIONS; NEITHER DID I THINK THAT PUTTING FORWARD PROPOSALS WHICH IGNORED

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THE GUIDANCE WE HAD BEEN GIVEN ON EQUAL SECURITY INTERESTS AND

NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE ADVANCED OUR NEGOTIATIONS. HE REPLIED THAT "UNDERSTANDING OF THE ENTIRE CONTENT OF THEIR STATEMENT REQUIRES A GOOD EAR, CAREFUL UNDERSTANDING AND AN UNBIASED APPROACH."

3. IN OUR PRIVATE TALK HE TOOK INITIATIVE IN AGAIN RAISING SUBJECT, PROFESSING SURPRISE AND CONCERN AT MY REACTION, POINTING TO "THE CLEAR AND POSITIVE" ELEMENTS IN HIS STATEMENT TODAY AND FACT THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ME TO AGREE TO THE POLEMICAL PORTIONS OF HIS STATEMENT. I SAID THAT I COULD PERFECTLY WELL UNDERSTAND HIS REFERRING TO AND QUOTING FROM THOSE PORTIONS OF BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO SALT, BUT I DID NOT FEEL THAT THE STATEMENTS ATTACKING MOTIVES OF THE US AND ITS ALLIES HAD ANY PLACE IN OUR TALKS AND HE HAD TO EXPECT MY VIGOROUS REACTION. I EXPECTED AND FELT IT PROPER THAT WE HAVE FRANK AND VIGOROUS DISCUSSIONS ON VARIOUS POSITIONS THAT EITHER OF US MAY PUT FORWARD IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT I DID NOT FEEL THAT POLEMICAL STATEMENTS ATTACKING THE MOTIVES AND ATTITUDES OF OUR GOVERNMENTS HAD A PROPER PLACE IN DISCUSSION SUCH AS OURS.

4. ALSO IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION NOTING THAT TODAY HE HAD CITED BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT ON "POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS" IN SALT BUT THAT THEIR DRAFT CONTAINED NO PROVISION THEREFOR BEYOND STATEMENT IN PREAMBLE, HE IN EFFECT SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO HEAR ANYTHING THAT WE HAD TO SAY WITH RESPECT TO A SPECIFIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL.

5. IN PLENARY MEETING SHCHUKIN PURPORTED TO ANSWER OUR QUESTION ON HOW THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "LIGHT" AND "HEAVY" ICBMS IN ARTICLE III IN EFFECT BY STATING THAT THIS COULD BE DETERMINED BY "NATIONAL MEANS" AND IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO GO BEYOND WHAT WAS SAID ON THIS SUBJECT IN INTERIM AGREEMENT. TRUSOV GAVE DUSTY ANSWER TO OUR QUESTION ON FUTURE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, IN EFFECT SAYING SUCH SYSTEMS SHOULD BE LIMITED OR BANNED BUT THAT A BAN OR LIMIT ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF SUCH ARMS WOULD REQUIRE MUTUAL AGREEMENT.

6. BOTH IN MY PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH SEMENOV AND OTHER PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS OF US AND SOVDEL MEMBERS SOVIET SIDE CONTINUED TO PRESS HARD ON IMPORTANCE OF GETTING AHEAD WITH NEGOTIATIONS IF AGREEMENT IS TO BE CONCLUDED IN 1974. SEMENOV
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PUSHED ME PARTICULARLY HARD ON DEALING FIRST WITH "PERIPHERAL ISSUES" AND THUS EVENTUALLY DEFINING BASIC ISSUES WITH NEED TO BE SETTLED AT "HIGHEST LEVELS". JOHNSON

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973SALTT05767
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973103/aaaaacdy.tel
Line Count: 110
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COMMENTS ON OCTOBER 30 MEETING (SALT TWO-328)
TAGS: PARM
To: SECSTATE WASHDC DOD WASHDC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005